



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

## PERSONIFICATION IN THUCYDIDES

BY CHARLES FORSTER SMITH

The thought of investigating this subject first occurred to me, I think, in connection with a sentence in Thucydides ii. 36. 4, εἴ τι αὐτοὶ ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν βάρβαρον ἢ Ἑλληνα πόλεμον ἐπιόντα προθύμως ἡμυνόμεθα, μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βουλόμενος, ἑάσω, "If we or our fathers zealously repelled war, either barbarian or Hellenic, advancing against us, I will pass over it, not wishing to be tedious among those who know." The personification of πόλεμον, causes trouble among the commentators. Dobree first suggested an interpolation; Classen brackets the word; so Steup, but on different grounds. Haase emended to πολέμιον, followed by Stahl. But surely no change is necessary. We have the same personification, perhaps an imitation of our passage, in Libanius *Or.* 724c, πόλεμον ἐπιόντα ἀποκρούσασθαι, "to beat off war coming on," and in Plutarch *Camillus* 23, πόλεμον ἀλλόφυλον ἀπώσασθαι, "to push back a foreign war." And we can abundantly justify this personification of πόλεμος from Thucydides' own usage elsewhere, e.g., i. 122. 1, ἥκιστα γὰρ πόλεμος ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς χωρεῖ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ τεχνᾶται πρὸς τὸ παρατυγχάνον, ἐν ᾧ ὁ μὲν εὐοργήτως αὐτῷ προσομιλήσας βεβαιότερος, ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐλάσσω πταίει, "For war least of all proceeds according to prescribed rules, but itself of itself devises most things according to exigencies; wherein he that consorts with it in good temper stands firmer, but he that is moved by passion with regard to it is sure to fail." The personification is quite striking, not only in the action of the first two clauses, but also in the use of the verb προσομιλεῖν, "consort with," in the relative clause.

Personification is quite as marked again in iii. 82. 2, ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ὑφελὼν τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίαιος διδάσκαλος<sup>1</sup> καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοιοῦ, "War, taking away the comfortable provision of daily life, is a hard master and conforms the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Theophylactus *Hist.* i. 15, ὁ πόλεμος . . . τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων κακῶν ἀρχηγέτης καὶ διδάσκαλος αὐτοδίδακτος, "war is the primal author and self-taught teacher of human ills."

dispositions of most men to the circumstances of the moment." I find personification of πόλεμος also in iv. 18. 4 and vi. 34. 2; but it is far more striking in vi. 41. 3, *καὶ ἦν ἄρα μηδὲν δέησιν, οὐδεμία βλαβὴ τοῦ τε τὸ κοινὸν κοσμηθῆναι καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ὁ πόλεμος ἀγάλλεται*, "and if, indeed, there be no need of it, there is no harm in the city being furnished with horses and arms and all the rest that war exults in." The word ἀγάλλεται makes one think of Homer at once, and I fancy an epic passage was in Thucydides' mind when he wrote this. Perhaps it was Thetis' speech to Achilles, Σ 128-32:

ἀλλὰ τοι ἔντεα καλὰ μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ἔχονται,  
χάλκεα μαρμαίροντα· τὰ μὲν κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ  
αὐτὸς ἔχων ὤμοισιν ἀγάλλεται,

"But thy fair glittering armor of bronze is held among the Trojans; Hector of the glancing helm goeth proudly, wearing it on his shoulders."<sup>1</sup>

From Homer certainly the most striking personification of πόλεμος in the whole of Thucydides is borrowed directly, namely, i. 121. 1, *ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν καὶ ἀδικούμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐγείρομεν*, "but we now, suffering wrong, wake up war." Here surely Thucydides was thinking of Homer Ψ 31

ὥς ἔφατο Κρονίδης πόλεμον δ' ἀλίσστον ἔγειρεν,

"Thus spake the son of Kronos and woke up incessant war." In Thucydides' mind, as in Homer's, it is the terrible god of war, ὄξυς Ἄρης, that is awaked (B 440; Δ 531; Σ 304; T 237).<sup>2</sup>

With the phrase πόλεμον ἐγείρειν in mind, one is predisposed to find a personification in vi. 34. 3, *τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον κινεῖν*, "to start the war there."<sup>3</sup> Another instance of perhaps unconscious personification of πόλεμος is Thuc. vi. 70. 1, *ὥστε τοῖς μὲν πρῶτον μαχομένοις καὶ ἐλάχιστα πολέμῳ ὠμολήκασιν καὶ τοῦτο ξυνεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ φόβου*, "so that for those fighting for the first time and least acquainted with [*lit.* had kept company with] war, this too contributed to their fear." Here, of course, it is the personal verb *ὁμιλεῖν*<sup>4</sup> which makes one feel that the Homeric personified πόλεμος was perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M 114; P 473.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Plato *Rep.* 566e.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. N 778; E 496.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. vi. 55. 3.

unconsciously in Thucydides' mind.<sup>1</sup> And still another case of this personification is iv. 55. 1, Πύλου δὲ ἐχομένης καὶ Κυθήρων καὶ πανταχόθεν σφᾶς περιεστώτος πολέμου ταχέος καὶ ἀπροφυλάκτου, "Pylos being occupied, as well as Cythera, and encompassing them on all sides a war sudden and not guarded against." Another instance, possibly, is ii. 18. 2, ὁπότε πόλεμος καταλάβοι, "when war broke out [*lit.* overtook them]." Bloomfield says of the use of καταλαβεῖν with πόλεμος, "I know of no other example but *Diog. Laert.* i. 53, καὶ ἦν ὁ πόλεμος ἡμᾶς καταλάβη."

Let us consider next Thucydides' personification of ναῦς, and first his use of the verb τιτρώσκω and the noun τραῦμα as applied to ships. Of the simple verb there is one example in iv. 14. 1, ἔτρωσαν πολλὰς ναῦς, "they disabled [*lit.* pierced or wounded] many ships." Herodotus once (viii. 18) uses the simple verb in the same way,<sup>2</sup> and Thucydides the compound verb κατατραυματίζειν three times (vii. 41. 4; viii. 10. 4, 42. 3). This application of τιτρώσκω to ships by Thucydides and Herodotus is not really as strange as it strikes us now, since the root meaning of the word is "pierce," and in the period of the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars the Athenian mode of fighting with ships was to pierce with a sharp prow the side of the hostile vessel.

In general, we may say that if there is anything inanimate which one would expect an Athenian to represent as feeling and acting like a human being it would be ships, of course, and there are interesting cases of personification of ναῦς with other verbs than τιτρώσκω. The verb πονεῖν, "to toil, to be in distress," which belongs, and is generally restricted, to things animate, is applied by Thucydides to ships; for example, vi. 104. 2, τὰς ναῦς ὄσαι ἐπόνησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀνελκύσας ἐπεσκεύαζεν, "all the ships that had suffered from [*lit.* labored in] the storm he refitted."<sup>3</sup>

A beautiful example of personification, with another verb, is found in the description of further maneuvers following the incident

<sup>1</sup> For ὀμλεῖν in the sense here used, cf. Hdt. vii. 26. 3; 214. 3; Soph. *Trach.* 591; Pind. *Od.* 12. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Polyb. xv. 4. 12; Dio C. xlix. 3; Livy xxxvii. 24 "multis ictibus vulnerata navis erat." For a similar personification with κρατίζειν, cf. Hdt. viii. 86; 91; Eur. *Alc.* 889.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. vii. 38. 2.

just mentioned. The Athenian ships at Syracuse, cut off from the open sea and hemmed in within the great harbor, could no longer use their favorite maneuver, and being compelled with light prows to engage in a butting contest, like rams or he-goats, with the heavy prows of the Syracusan ships, had been worsted and fled within their own palisade. Just at this point Thucydides says (vii. 41. 3), *δύο δὲ νῆες τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐπαιρόμεναι<sup>1</sup> τῇ νίκῃ προσέμειξαν αὐτῶν ἐγγὺς καὶ διεφθάρησαν*, "and two Syracusan ships flushed with victory approached too near them and were disabled."

In ii. 91 there is another striking case of the personification of ships. It is the second naval battle in the Gulf of Corinth, fought by the Athenian fleet of twenty ships under Phormio against the Lacedaemonian fleet of seventy-seven ships. The big Peloponnesian fleet had managed to catch the little Athenian squadron as it was sailing along close to the shore in single file, and had driven nine of the Athenian ships aground and disabled them; the remaining eleven, having eluded the attempt to cut them off, had reached Naupactus and faced about to defend themselves against twenty Lacedaemonian ships that had followed them. Thucydides says:

The Peloponnesians soon came up; they were singing a paean of victory as they rowed, and one Leucadian ship, far in advance of the rest, was chasing the single Athenian ship which had been left behind. There chanced to be anchored in the deep water a merchant vessel, round which the Athenian ship rowed just in time, struck the Leucadian vessel amidships, and sank her. At this sudden and unexpected feat the Peloponnesians were dismayed; they had been carrying on the pursuit in disorder because of their success.

The sailors have been the actors up to this point, but now there is a sudden change of subject and the ships take charge of themselves (ii. 91. 4): *αἱ μὲν τινες τῶν νεῶν καθεῖσαι τὰς κώπας ἐπέστησαν τοῦ πλοῦ, ἀξίμφορον δρῶντες πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ὀλίγου ἀντεξόρμησιν, βουλόμενοι τὰς πλείους περιμεῖναι, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς βράχεα ἀπειρία χωρίων ὤκειλαν*, "some of the ships dropped their oars and stopped their course, intending to wait for the main body of their fleet—a serious mistake to make in the face of an enemy lying near and ready for the charge—while others, unfamiliar with the waters there, ran aground in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ii. 11. 2.

shallows." Notice that the sailors resume control of the ships at *δρῶντες* and continue it with *βουλόμενοι*, but with *αἱ δέ* the ships are again the actors, and they finish the movement. There is, by the way, the same change of subject, between men and ships, where the conduct and fate of the twenty Athenian ships is described at the opening of this same chapter.

If Greek ships, not simply in the poets, but in the grave historian Thucydides, may become, as it were, sentient beings and "labor" in a storm, be "flushed with victory," "drop their oars and stop sailing," "be disobedient" to their boatswains, and even be "wounded," we need not be startled if the same Thucydides should even let them "perish" like men. And as a matter of fact he does this in vii. 72. 1, *γενομένης δ' ἰσχυρᾶς τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ πολλῶν νεῶν ἀμφοτέρους καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπολομένων, κτέ*, "As the sea-fight had been stubborn and many ships on both sides, as well as men, had perished, etc." I am quite ready to believe that Thucydides was not only personifying ships here, but may have had in mind a famous speech of Hector's (Θ 498): *νῦν ἐφάμην νῆάς τ' ὀλέσας καὶ πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς ἄψ ἀπονοστήσειν προτὶ Ἴλιον ἡνεμόεσσαν*, "I thought but now to make havoc of the ships and all the Achaeans and depart back again to windy Ilios." Someone may object here that Thucydides' application of *ἀπολομένων* to ships is due merely to the collocation with *ἀνθρώπων*, the concise Thucydides, knowing his meaning would be clear, leaving the participle to do duty with both nouns. But before we admit this objection as valid, let us see what else may "perish" in Thucydides besides men. After a description of the distressing situation at Athens resulting from the menace of the Lacedaemonian fortress at Decelea, Thucydides concludes chapter 28 with these words, *αἱ μὲν γὰρ δαπνάσαι οὐχ ὁμοίως καὶ πρὶν, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ μείζους καθέστασαν, ὅσῳ καὶ μείζων ὁ πόλεμος ἦν, αἱ δὲ πρόσδοι ἀπώλλυντο*, "For their expenses were not on the same scale as before, but had become far greater, inasmuch as the war was greater, and their revenues were failing [*lit.* perishing]." And in this same gloomy description of the ills of Athens is found a still bolder bit of personification (chap. 27. 3), *πολλὰ ἐβλαπτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις πραγμάτων τ' ὀλέθρῳ καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθορᾷ ἐκάκωσε τὰ πράγματα*, "Decelea did great injury to the Athenians and was among the very

chief sources of damage to their cause by loss of property and destruction of men." Even Krüger, who more than any other scholar has pointed out poetic usage in Thucydides, and indeed first set me on that quest, objected to the use of *δλέθρω* with *χρημάτων*: "*δλέθρω*, das ich auf Güter bezogen von guten Schriftstellern nicht gebraucht wüsste, scheint Glossem zu *φθορά*; Valla hatte es wohl nicht (Kr. *Bruchst.*, p. 52). Nichts beweist vii. 28. 4." But with all deference to, and reverence for, the great Krüger, I insist, with Classen, that the use of *αἱ πρόσοδοι ἀπώλλυντο* in chapter 28 justifies and protects *δλέθρω χρημάτων* here, and vice versa.<sup>1</sup>

A discussion of the personification of Greek ships may be followed by that of *πόλις*, especially as in our examples *πόλις* is almost certainly personified as "ship of state," e.g., iv. 59. 1, *οὔτε πόλεως ὦν ἐλαχίστης, ὦ Σικελιώται, τοὺς λόγους ποιήσομαι οὔτε πονουμένης μάλιστα τῷ πολέμῳ*, "It is not as the representative of a very weak city, O Siceliot, nor of one that is most distressed by the war, that I shall make my address." It is the use of the verb *πονεῖν* as applied to *πόλις*, as in the examples cited above with *ναῦς*, that makes me find here a personification not only of *πόλις*, but of *πόλις* personified as "ship of state." See again viii. 64. 4, *ξυνέβη οὖν αὐτοῖς μάλιστα ἃ ἐβούλοντο, τὴν πόλιν τε ἀκινδύνως ὀρθοῦσθαι καὶ τὸν ἐναντιωσόμενον δῆμον καταλελίσθαι*, "There happened then what they most wished, the city was reformed [*lit.* righted itself, like an upturned boat] without danger to themselves, and the demos that would have opposed them was overthrown." Here again we have a personification of *πόλις*, and even more certainly than in the preceding example it is personified as "ship of state."<sup>2</sup>

In the poets a city or a state may not only "labor [be distressed]" in war, like a ship in a storm, and again like an overturned ship "right itself," but also be "sick," just like the citizens that compose it. Such a personification is found in Thucydides ii. 31, *ἀκμαζούσης ἔτι τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὐπω νεοροσσηκίας*, "the city being still in its prime and not yet plague-stricken."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Homer applies *δλυνμι* to all sorts of inanimate things, e.g., i. 413. 415; K 186; β 49, 98; δ 318; η 117; λ 586; ο 91. Cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 1001; Eur. *Alc.* 415; *I.T.* 1108. So *θνήσκω* in the poets: Pind. *Frg.* 86; Aesch. *Choeph.* 846; Soph. *O. C.* 611. Cf. Aristophanes, making fun of Euripides (*Ran.* 986), *τὸ τρύβλιον τὸ περυσινὸν τέθηγké μοι*, "my cup of yesteryear is dead."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ii. 60. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hdt. v. 22; Dem. ix. 39; xviii. 45.

If the state may be represented as stricken with disease, it is natural that the figure should be extended so as to include its healing, and such a personification we have in vi. 14, τὸ μὲν λύειν τοὺς νόμους μὴ μετὰ τοσῶνδ' ἂν μαρτύρων αἰτίαν σχεῖν, τῆς δὲ πόλεως βουλευσαμένης ἰατρὸς ἂν γενέσθαι, "to break the law in the presence of so many witnesses would not be to incur blame, but to become a healer of the state that has made a bad decision." The state that is stricken with disease and may find a healer is also represented as growing old in Thucydides vi. 18. 6, καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἣν μὲν ἡσυχάζῃ, τρίψεσθαι τε αὐτὴν περὶ αὐτήν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι, καὶ πάντων τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐγγηράσσεσθαι, "and the state, if it be inactive, will wear itself out, just like anything else, and will grow old in its knowledge of everything."

In the discussion of a passage in ii. 91. 3 above, we saw that when the fleeing Athenian ship whirled round an anchored merchantman, struck the foremost pursuing Peloponnesian vessel amidships, and sank her, "at this sudden and unexpected feat the Peloponnesians were dismayed." In Thucydides' φόβος ἐμπίπτει I am inclined to find the son of Ares, Φόβος φίλος υἱὸς ἄμα κρατερὸς καὶ ἀταρβής (N 399), who, in Homer's world and in Hesiod's and Aeschylus', kept company with Terror and Strife: Δ 440, Δειμός τ' ἠδὲ Φόβος καὶ Ἔρις ἄμοτον μεμαυῖα, "Terror and Fear and Strife, whose fury wearieth not."<sup>1</sup> This φόβος is opposed to θάρσος in Plato *Legg.* 644c; but Aeschylus had already brought the two into contrast, *Theb.* 256, θάρσος φίλοις, λούσα πολέμιον φόβον. Perhaps Thucydides had in mind this Aeschylean passage, for just a few lines below the expression φόβος ἐμπίπτει, the next chapter (92) opens with τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους ἰδόντας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα θάρσος τε ἔλαβε καὶ ἀπὸ ἐνὸς κελεύσματος ἐμβοήσαντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὤρμησαν, "courage seized the Athenians when they saw this and at a single word of command they raised a shout and dashed at them." This is Homer's θάρσος, "courage" personified, and it is the only trace in Thucydides of this Homeric idiom, a construction rare elsewhere in prose.<sup>2</sup>

To return to φόβος, it was the same fear that the Peloponnesian commander warned his crew against in ii. 87. 4, φόβος γὰρ μνήμην

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A 37.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hdt. i. 165; Xen. *Cyrop.* v. 5. 6; Plato *Legg.* 699c; Soph. *Phil.* 766; Hom. Ψ 468, A 387, δ 704.



ἐκπλήσσει, τέχνη δὲ ἄνευ ἀλκῆς οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ, “for fear knocks memory out, and skill without strength does no good.”<sup>1</sup> φόβος is personified again in the pathetic plea of the Plataeans not to be sacrificed by Spartans to their inveterate Theban enemies, iii. 54. 5, καὶ ὑμῖν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἰδίᾳ, ὅτεπερ δὴ μέγιστος φόβος περιέστη τὴν Σπάρτην μετὰ τὸν σεισμόν τῶν ἐς Ἰθώμην Εἰλώτων ἀποστάντων, τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐξεπέμψαμεν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν· ὧν οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀμνημονεῖν, “And to your aid, O Lacedaemonians, just when very great fear encompassed Sparta, after the earthquake, when the Helots had gone in revolt to Ithome, we sent a third of our own citizens. These things should not be forgotten.”

A bolder personification than φόβος is κόπος in vii. 40. 4. The Athenians had been deceived by a trick proposed to the Syracusans by their cleverest pilot, the Corinthian Aristo, and forced to put out hastily and in bad order, most of them without food. For some time the two fleets held off, guarding against each other, then Thucydides says (vii. 40. 4), ἔπειτα οὐκ ἐδόκει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν διαμέλλοντας κόπῳ ἀλίσκεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐπιχεῖρειν ὅτι τάχιστα, “After a while the Athenians thought best not to delay any longer and be self-beaten by weariness [*lit.* be overcome], but to attack as soon as possible.” But weakness from hunger on their own part and the heavy prows of the Syracusan vessels soon proved too much for them, and they had to seek refuge behind their own line of transport boats. Very naturally the commentators shake their heads at the phrase κόπῳ ἀλίσκεσθαι. Krüger calls it “ungewöhnlich”; Stahl adopts Madvig’s conjecture ἀναλίσκεσθαι. But compare ἀλοῦσαι ὕπνῳ, Aesch. *Eum.* 67; μανία ἀλοῦς, Soph. *Ai.* 216; θανάτῳ ἀλῶναι, Hom. *Φ* 281; ὑπ’ ἔρωτος ἀλῶναι, Plato *Phaedr.* 252c. It is the same kind of personification of ὕπνος that we have in Hom. *B* 34.

#### PERSONIFICATION OF ABSTRACTS

After the remarkable description of the plague which wrought such fearful havoc at Athens and among the troops at Potidaea, and of the coincident Peloponnesian invasion of Attica, we are told that a change came over the spirit of the Athenians. They blamed Pericles, because he had persuaded them to go to war, as the author of all their

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ii. 38, ἡ τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει.

troubles. He goes before the assembly to encourage and hearten them, and when he tells them not to worry over the loss of property, which is, as it were, only "the garden of the house, the superfluous ornament of wealth," but to be anxious about freedom and preserve that, for it would recover all the rest (ii. 62. 3), freedom (ἐλευθερία) suddenly becomes an active agent; and the chapter winds up in this way: καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης ἢ ξύνεσις ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος ἐχυρωτέραν παρέχεται, ἐλπίδι τε ἥσσον πιστεύει, ἥς ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳ ἢ ἰσχύς, γνώμη δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἥς βεβαιότερα ἢ πρόνοια, "and daring, when fortune is impartial, from a consciousness of its superiority is made more secure by intelligence, and trusts less to hope, whose strength lies in perplexity, but more in judgment, whose foresight is surer." Note how all sorts of abstractions here become agents: τόλμα, τύχη, ξύνεσις, ἐλπίς, γνώμη.

There is another fine example of the personification of τόλμα in Pericles' funeral oration, ii. 41. 4, καὶ οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι οὔτε Ὁμήρου ἐπαινέτου οὔτε ὅστις ἔπεισι μὲν τὸ αὐτίκα τέρψει, τῶν δ' ἔργων τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἢ ἀλήθεια βλάψει, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ γῆν ἐσβατόν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τόλμῃ καταναγκάσαντες γενέσθαι, πανταχοῦ δὲ μνημεῖα κακῶν τε κάγαθῶν αἰδία ξυγκατοικίσαντες, "we shall need no Homer to sing our praise, nor any other poet, whose verses will give delight for the moment, though his representation of the facts will be marred by the truth. Nay, we have compelled every land to give access to our daring, and have everywhere planted everlasting memorials both of evil to foes and of good to friends." "So, for a moment," says Lamb,<sup>1</sup> "he will make Truth—though she had no special cult—a greater person than Homer, and go on to exalt Athenian Daring to the glory of a conquering invader."

In Diodotus' masterly plea to the Athenians, to save them from incurring the enormous guilt of adopting Cleon's proposal to put to death all the Mytilenaeen men and enslave their women and children, we have another group of personifications of abstract conceptions. The passage is iii. 45. 4-6. Here the actors are poverty (πενία), wealth (ἐξουσία), hope (ἐλπίς), passionate love (ἔρως), fortune (τύχη), and human nature (ἀνθρώπεια φύσις). Another good example of the personification of τύχη is found in vii. 68. 1.

<sup>1</sup> *Clio Enthroned*, p. 223.

In the beginning of Diodotus' speech in behalf of the Mytilenaeans, there is perhaps a personification of *τάχος*, "haste," *ὀργή*, "anger," *εὐβουλία*, "good counsel," and *ἄνοια*, "thoughtlessness"; and when in the next sentence words become the teachers of deeds we are sure that Thucydides is personifying (iii. 42. 1).

In v. 65. 2 occurs an interesting example of personification of *προθυμία*, untimely "zeal" on the part of King Agis, and the dilatory tactics of another Spartan king, Archidamus, rise up on another occasion to accuse him (ii. 18. 3), *ἥ τε ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ ἐπιμονή γενομένη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πορείαν ἢ σχολαιότης διέβαλεν αὐτόν, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ ἐν τῇ Οἰνότη ἐπίσχεσις*, "and the delay at the Isthmus brought him into bad repute and further the leisurely way in which the march was made, but most of all the halt at Oenoe." We have here personification of the abstracts *ἐπιμονή*, *σχολαιότης* and *ἐπίσχεσις* with *διέβαλεν*. Two Homeric terms in the sentence seem to indicate that Homer was not far from Thucydides' mind at the moment, namely, *ξυναγωγή* and *ἐπίσχεσις*. The former, in this sense, occurs only here in Thucydides, and is a reminiscence of the Homeric *συνάγειν* "Ἀρηα or ἔριδα" Ἀρηος (B 381; E 861; Ξ 149) or *συνάγειν κρατερὴν ὑσμίνην* (π 764); the latter, in the meaning "delay," seems to have only Homeric precedent (ρ 451).

A like personification is that of *τιμωρία* in iv. 62. 4, *τιμωρία γὰρ οὐκ εὐτυχεῖ δικαίως, ὅτι καὶ ἀδικεῖται· οὐδ' ἰσχύς βέβαιον διότι καὶ εὐελπι*, "for vengeance has no right to succeed because it has suffered injustice, nor is might secure because it has good hope."<sup>1</sup> Finally there is a striking personification of *μηχανή* in iv. 100. 1. The Boeotians, with their Peloponnesian allies, were attacking the rampart of Delium, which was held by the Athenians, *καὶ μηχανὴν προσήγαγον, ἥπερ εἶλεν αὐτό*, "and they brought up an engine, which took it." Krüger's conjecture *ῆ* has the support of some manuscripts. "Die Personifikation wäre hier unzeitig kühn," he thinks. But Classen cites ii. 71. 1, *αἱ μηχαναὶ οὐδὲν ὠφέλουν*, "their engines profited naught." Certainly if ever an engine deserved to be personified, it was the one described in this chapter.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dio Cass. xliv. 27.